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The Origin of “A Well-Informed Hundred Million = Ichioku-Sou-Hakuchika (一億総博知化)”: The Theory of Media Cultural Policy of Kondo Haruo (近藤春雄)

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1. Introduction

I will discuss about the meanings of the conception “Ichioku-Sou-Hakuchika (一億総博知化)” in this essay. This conception is the paraphrase of 一億総白痴化 which has the same pronounce but the converse meaning. Both phrases are the expression about the evaluation of TV. The former has positive nuance. It means to convey knowledge or culture and to enlighten to a hundred million people. I will call positive one a well informed hundred million. Conversely, the latter has negative nuance. It means that to view TV make a hundred million people foolish and stupid. It is more famous phrase as an evaluation of TV. However, the former 一億総博知化 supported symbolic Japanese consciousness of post-war: Ichioku-sou-churyu 一億総中流 (the consciousness that almost all people belong to middle-class). Firstly, I will disclose what is the origin of symbolic Japanese consciousness 一億総中流. Secondly, I will consider what the meanings of 一億総博知化 is in the present society.

2. Two perspectives about the origin of the modern Japan

There are two perspectives about the origin of the modern Japan. First, it is the theory of 8.15 revolution in 1945 (丸山 (1964) etc.). The perspective is that irrational fascism or militarism was upset by the defeat of W.W. II. And, a democratic society was formed after the war in 1945. The perspective emphasizes the disconnection between post- and pre-war eras. It is appropriate in some cases, but partly, we should say the structure of post-war was founded in prewar, particularly, under the total war. The second perspective is the theory of total war system (山之内ら 1995). This perspective emphasizes that total war demanded a very rational and efficient system rather than an irrational system. And total war transformed a class-society to a system-society. Sato defined the system society; *System socialization is to resolve conflicts among class, generation and gender by the more abstract conception: Nation* (佐藤 1998)). It deletes the boarder of class, generation and gender and to integrate nation for making the system to mobile resources efficiently. In addition, to use human resource efficiently, many welfare institutions were established under the system. After all, that welfare institutions which was formed under the system realized certain equality. The institution of pre-war continues that of post war. There is no structural disconnection in this perspective.

But, not only structure but also ideal or consciousness also continue to post war in my

opinion. And Ichioku-Sou-Churyu 一億総中流 was the important consciousness and ideal in post-war. What does it mean? It depends on “Public opinion research about national life” (Premier office in 1970). In this research, 90% of citizens identified themselves with middle-class = Ichioku-Sou-Churyu 一億総中流 (一億総 means all one hundred million nation people, 中流 means middle class) is the term expressing the research result. And this consciousness was pursued on purpose rather than as a natural process. In other words, it was pursued as an ideal. And the ideal was to equalization. This, as a result, achieved to Ichioku-Sou-Churyu consciousness. And then, how was 一億総中流 pursued? There are various viewpoints. For example, the equality of economy, education, and culture (as art, drama, music, etc.). And the cultural version of 一億総中流 is a well informed hundred million 一億総博知化. Kondo Haruo 近藤春雄 representatively insisted on a well informed hundred million. Therefore, to clear the process of Kondo will be to find the origin of the ideal and consciousness 一億総中流 and also to reconsider the meaning. At first, who is Kondo Haruo?

3. Research of German cultural policy to “*The theory of cultural policy*”

Kondo was born on Tokyo in 1908. His father was a politician of Seiyukai. He entered the Imperial University of Tokyo and studied cultural policy under Royama Masamichi. In 1934, he graduated it and served in The Ministry of Foreign Affairs. And then he was sent to Germany in order to research German cultural policy. In 1935, after going back to Japan, he assumed the officer of International Film Conference. There were some great artists in the executives of the organization, for examples, Fujita Tsuguharu, Kishida Kokushi, Horiguti Daigaku etc. He resigned in 1938, and then he worked actively as the cultural critic and the lecturer of Japan University. He published about 20 books, for example *The theory of cultural policy* (1940), *Controlling culture of Nazi* (1938). After W.W. II, he focused his interest on mass-communication research. Books in post-war are *Broadcasting culture* (1955), *The thought and action of present people: mass-communication and the effects* (1960), *The perspective of mass-communication culture* (1968). The names of his books in post war indicate that he worked as a mass-communication researcher. What did he pursue? Why did he pay attention to mass-communication? At first, we must see the origin of his critic activity.

At the same year resigning the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he published two books “*The policy of controlling culture in Nazi*” (1938) and “*The youth movement of Nazi*” (1938). What did he view as problem in these books? How did he try to overcome them? He was an introducer of Nazi policy, a collaborator of Japan government and a fascist. However, we should not stop to consider by labeling him as introducer of Nazi. Because, we can understand the then problematic condition by considering his analysis. And it was the condition of dividing class. In his opinion, Germany could overcome it. Then the important factor was to generalize culture and to form national culture. It meant the transition from class-culture to all-inclusive = national culture. Why did it need? The reason is, simply speaking, for winning the long-term war to integrate people’s minds. Needless to say, Kondo supported the movement of

mobilizing all nation people.

It was “*The theory of cultural policy*” published in 1940 that applied the result of the german research to the condition of Japan. What did Kondo view as the problem of culture in Japan, and what obstructed to forming national culture? It was classism and commercialism in the enjoyment style. What condition was it concretely? It was that only rich people or particular group could enjoy culture. Therefore, the value judgment depended on whether they pay or not and like or not. In addition, this led to the various cultural gap (urban/rural, rich/poor, elite/non-elite, bourgeois/labor/farmer...) It was the very obstruction for higher integrating nation and constructing total war system. Therefore, the solution was to liberate culture from classism and commercialism. Kondo proposed many concrete solutions to convey culture to mass. The law of motion picture (1939) was one of them. However, his main solutions were how government managed cultural groups. As a result, his cultural policy was almost cultural control.

By the way, what would he overcome by generalizing culture? There was the same problem the famous thinker Maruyama Masao pointed: it was the double structure of culture in Japan fascism. This means no communication between Iwanami culture 岩波文化 (the culture by elite publishing company) and Kodansha culture 講談社文化 (the culture by mass publishing company) and intellectuals belonging to Iwanami culture didn't have network to the people belonging to Kodansha culture. Maruyama pointed that this disconnection obstructed the communication between intellectuals and general people. As a result, intellectuals couldn't stop the war accomplishment which general people supported (丸山 1964). One of Kondo's purpose was to overcome this structure of disconnection. To do it, Kondo thought the way to liberate the culture and knowledge which only Iwanami intellectuals had enjoyed. Therefore, his cultural policy had an aspect for enlightenment rather than for control. So he will insist on a well informed hundred million (一億総博知化) by the same framework.

4. Mass communication and “Equivalent enlightenment”

After W.W. II, the social system transited to, it is called, “a democratic society”. Kondo wrote a paper “*About foundation of democratic culture*” in November 1945 (the journal was published in 1946). The month which the war finished on is August in 1945. It was the right after. In the paper, he said “The real democratic culture is to liberate culture and make it universal. Intellectuals must play the role of removing the obstruction” (近藤 1946). His ideal and purpose didn't change even after Japan surrendered and the society transited. In addition, he experienced of tapping BBC in terminal war. He found the great influence of broadcasting through the experience. Therefore, he had focused on mass communication since then. Furthermore, the thesis of H.D. Lasswell supported the importance of his ideal in a democratic society. It is the concept “equivalent enlightenment” Lasswell proposed. What is it?

Equivalent Enlightenment is the common knowledge and the common view of value for specialist and layman to rationally agree with problems or issues. It is indispensable to

rationally reach agreements and it will become the basis of democracy. As a measure to obtain rational agreements, Kondo proposed “broadcasting culture” based on radio. He said in his book “Broadcasting Culture” (1955). The culture which was previously enjoyed exclusively by only a special-class was now generalized and conveyed to people by broadcasting. This framework of ideal was the almost same of pre-war.

By the way, what was the environment of mass-media then? 1955 is the monumental year. In the year, the rapid economic growth started. 1958 was the peak of radio boom. But radio was being replaced by TV. The film also did so. Controversy, the contract number of TV receiver increased greatly. That is, 1950-60’s was the important period that mass-media environment was changing drastically.

5. Not “一億総白痴化 Ichioku-Sou-Hakuchika” but “一億総博知化 Ichioku-Sou-Hakuchika”

When main broadcasting media changed to television, mass-society started to become a big issue. Shimizu Ikutaro introduced the term mass-society in 1951. He said public transformed to a giant crowd (=mass). The character of mass was “unconditional surrender of the ability to critic, conformity without reflection” (清水 1951). The other intellectual Oya Soichi called TV the media of Ichioku-Sou-Hakuchika 一億総白痴化. The word means the fool TV contents make citizens more foolish. Kondo critiqued them and insisted on the function of TV as 一億総博知化 a well informed hundred million.

What meaning was Kondo’s Ichioku-Sou-Hakuchika 一億総博知化”? Kondo used the phrase of Oya on purpose. It was sure that Kondo recognized Japan was like mass-society. However, the mass who driving the growing Japan economy was vivid and active people. Given that there were many fool TV programs, there was the possibility of making TV a cultural resource for “一億総博知化” a well informed hundred million, if people could use TV initiatives. In fact, rural farmers or housewives did so. Kondo tried to demonstrate it. This means broadcasting narrowed the cultural gap between urban and rural, provided culture to the mass. Therefore, broadcasting media attained “一億総中流” from viewpoint of culture to some degree. And this ideal was pursued from pre-war consistently by Kondo.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we disclosed how german cultural policy research connected mass-communication research in Kondo. We can say that Kondo pursued “a well informed hundred million 一億総博知化” throughout pre- and post-war eras. The dream of “a well informed hundred million 一億総博知化” was also the process to “identify all one hundred million nation people with middle class 一億総中流”. Therefore, it means the prototype of “一億総中流”, which is important consciousness in postwar, was in pre-war. Particularly, the origin was german cultural policy research for Kondo. Yamanouchi said the difference between the New Deal system (democratic) and the fascism was in just the subdivision from the view of

total war system. Therefore, he said a pre-war system continued a democratic society of post-war structurally. The consistency of the Kondo’ ideal was along with this theory.

Now, a gap society is one of the biggest issues in Japan. In this condition, “a well informed hundred million 一億総博知化” to convey culture and knowledge universally may be valuable to look back. Sato also proposed circulation of culture and knowledge by TV, テレビ的教養, which has possibilities to “a well informed hundred million 一億総博知化”, as one of the solutions to education gap and information gap (佐藤 2008).

However, we must remember the origin of “a well informed hundred million 一億総博知化” which collaborated with german cultural policy and the movement of mobilizing all nation people. To insist “a well informed hundred million 一億総博知化”, we should think about why and how this collaboration happened.

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